

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LA PAZ 1034

STADIS////////////////////////////////

EXDIS

XFOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, BL, CH, PE
SUBJECT: PEACE IN THE SOUTHERN CONE

1. FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT OF A PROPOSED BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR
YOU TO CONSIDER SENDING TO THE SECRETARY.

2. EVENTS HAVE MOVED RAPIDLY ON THIS SUBJECT SINCE I SENT YOU
MY PREVIOUS MEMORANDUM. I NOW BELIEVE THAT AN OPPORTUNITY EXISTS
FOR THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION
TOWARD THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN PERU AND CHILE, TOWARD
ARMS RESTRAINT, AND TOWARD SUCCESSFUL DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS
BETWEEN THOSE COUNTRIES ABOUT AN OUTLET TO THE SEA FOR BOLIVIA.
MY RECOMMENDATION IN THIS MEMORANDUM DIFFERS FROM THAT IN
MY PREVIOUS MEMORANDUM TO YOU, WHICH MAY CAUSE SOME TO SAY THAT
ARA IS CHANGING ITS MIND RATHER QUICKLY. HOWEVER, I NOTE THAT
EMERSON WROTE, "FOOLISH CONSISTENCY IS THE HOBGOBLIN OF SMALL
MINDS."

3. SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS AMONG CHILE, BOLIVIA, AND PERU ON AN
OUTLET TO THE SEA SHOULD BE A MATTER OF IMPORTANCE TO ALL OF US
IN THIS HEMISPHERE. INDEED, MANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES
(VENEZUELA AND PANAMA IN THE VANGUARD) HAD SPOKEN OUT ON
THIS ISSUE. WE, OURSELVES, AT THE ATLANTA MEETING OF FOREIGN
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MINISTERS, VOTED FOR A VAGUELY WORDED RESOLUTION WHICH WAS INTENDED

TO SUPPORT THE OVERCOMING OF BOLIVIA'S LANDLOCKED STATUS. AT AYACUCHO THE OUTLET WAS DISCUSSED SPECIFICALLY AND A DEFINITE STATEMENT WAS INCLUDED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE THAT ELIMINATION OF BOLIVIA'S LANDLOCKED STATUS IS OF CONCERN TO ALL SIGNATORIES. I GAVE THE AYACUCHO DECLARATION MY FULL SUPPORT SINCE IT ALSO CONTAINED STATEMENTS ABOUT ARMS LIMITATIONS IN THE AREA.

4. I SEE OUR INTEREST IN THE SOUTHERN CONE AS DESIRING A PEACEFUL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE TENSIONS THAT HAVE BUILT UP BETWEEN THEM IN RECENT YEARS WHICH HAVE LED TO A PRONOUNCED ARMS RACE. IF THE TENSIONS AND THE ARMS RACE WERE TO CONTINUE, BT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT AN UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT COULD DEVELOP INTO AN ARMED CONFLICT. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT AGREEMENT ON A BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR TO THE SEA WOULD LARGELY ELIMINATE TENSION IN THE REGION AND HELP BRING ABOUT ARMS RESTRAINT.

5. IN ADDITION, I CAN FORESEE A LARGE VOLUME OF COMMERCIAL SALES, SOME FINANCED BY THE U.S., WERE A PORT TO BE BUILT OR A DEVELOPMENT ENCLAVE TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE COASTAL AREA.

6. BOLIVIA HAS BEEN CAREFULLY FOLLOWING A CLEAR DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY LOOKING FOR ITS ACCESS FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. OBSERVERS BOTH IN AND OUT OF BOLIVIA HAVE CONSIDERED THAT THE STABILITY OF THE BANZER REGIME, A MATTER OF SOME INTEREST TO US, IS DEPENDENT ON THIS ISSUE AND THE SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. FOLLOWING THE CHILEAN OFFER OF A CORRIDOR, GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THE BANZER REGIME HAS RISEN. HE IS LIKELY TO RETAIN SOLID SUPPORT AS LONG AS NEGOTIATIONS APPEAR TO BE MOVING FORWARD. PERU HAS PROPOSED BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHILE. SPECULATION IS THAT PERU WILL PROBABLY WISH TO STALL THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CHILE AND BOLIVIA UNTIL IT CAN OBTAIN SUFFICIENT COMPENSATION FOR ITSELF, OR SOME OTHER FORMULA, TO OVERCOME DOMESTIC OPPOSITION TO GIVING UP LONG-STANDING REVANCHIST DESIRES (AS A PRACTICAL MATTER REDUCED TO THE ARICA AREA).

7. OUR EMBASSIES IN THE THREE COUNTRIES VIEW THE MATTER DIFFERENTLY. EMBASSY LA PAZ BELIEVES THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD FORMALLY BUT PRIVATELY DESCRIBE ITS POLICY ON THE MATTER TO SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE THREE NATIONS SO THAT THEY WILL BE CLEAR ABOUT OUR POSITION. THIS MIGHT ALSO SERVE TO NUDGE THE PARTICIPANTS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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EMBASSIES SANTIAGO AND LIMA PROPOSSITHAT THE US SIT TIGHT,SAY NOTHING , AND WAIT FOR THE THREE NATIONS TO WORK OUT THE PROBLEM OR FAIL IN THEIR EFFORTS. UPON REFLECTION, I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY HERE FOR A CAREFULLY WORKED-OUT US INITIATIVE. THE RISKS THAT OUR RAISING THE SUBJECT WITH THE GOP WILL PROVOKE AN ADVERSE PERUVIAN REACTION AND HARM THE NEGOTIJZIONS ARE SMALL IF HANDLED AS FOLLOWS:

8. I PROPOSE THAT WHEN YOU VISIT PERU YOU TAKE THE LEAD IN RAISING THIS MATTER WITH THE GOP, SAYING THAT YOU HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND ARE WONDERING HOW THE PERUVIANS VIEW THE MATTER. YOU MIGHT STRESS THAT THE US HAS NO WISH TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN THE NEGOTIATIONS NOR ARE WE ATTEMPTING TO PRESSURE PERU. YOU MIGHT NOTE THAT WE UNDERSTAND THEIR PROBLEM AND MIGHT INQUIRE WHETHER THERE IS SOME WAY THE US CAN HELP. WE MAKE THIS GESTURE BECUASE WE SEE POSITIVE BENEFITS FOR PEACE IN THE AREA IF THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE WORKED OUT BY THE THREE NATIONS. YOU MIGHT ADD THAT CONTINGENT UPON A TRIPARTITE ACCORD THE US IS PREPARED TO PUT TOGETHER AN INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM TO EXAMINE THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE GENERAL AREA OF THE CORRIDOR FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THREE NATIONS. YOU COULD INFORM PRESIDENT MORALES THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE OUR POSITION PUBLIC IF THAT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

9. ALTHOUGH IN MY PREVIOUS MEMO I CITED THE ADMONITION OF A CAUTIOUS DIPLOMAT, I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN IN THE LATE 1940S ADVANCED AN IDEA FOR CHILE'S PROVIDING SALT WATER TO BOLIVIA IN EXCHANGE FOR GRESH WATER. THAT IS TO SAY, THE EXCHANGE OF AN OUTLET TO THE SEA FOR UTILIZATION OF BOLIV'S LAKE AND RIVER WATERS.

10. THE ENVIRONMENT TODAY FOR A CAREFULLY PHRASED PRIVATE STATEMENT OF OUR POSITION BY YOU TO PERU IS MUCH BETTER THAN IT WAS WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMAN SPOKE OUT ON THIS MATTER. AN INITIATIVE BY YOU, AS PROPOSED ABOVE, WOULD BE CONFIRMATION OF YOUR INTEREST IN A REDUCTION OF TENSIONS AND IN COOPERATIVE ACTIONS THAT CAN CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD PEACE--EVEN IN AREAS WHERE US INTERESTS ARE NOT NOW DIRECTLY THREATENED.

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11. THE 1929 TREATY BETWEEN PERU AND CHILE CONTAINS A CLAUSE STATING THAT IF THE TWO PARTIES DISAGREE ON AN INTERPRETATION OF A PART OF THE DOCUMENT, THE MATTER WILL BE DECIDED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. ALL THREE COUNTRIES ARE NOW RULED BY DE FACTO GOVERNMENTS, AND THE GOB AND GOC HAVE RAISED WITH US POSSIBLE EXTERNAL GUARANTEES OF AN AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS POSSIBLE RECOURSE TO THE 1929 TREATY CLAUSE. THESE ASPECTS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE SHOULD NOT MAINTAIN A POLICY OF SILENCE UNTIL A FINAL ACCORD IS REACHED. THUS I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR YOU TO MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN TO PRESIDENT MORALES. DOING SO WOULD HAVE THE SALUTORY EFFECT OF DISABUSING HIM OF ANY MISTAKEN IDEAS HE MAY HAVE THAT THE USG IS SOMEHOW MASTERMINDING THE WHOLE THING TO STIR UP PERUVIAN POLITICS.

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